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by its statues to the columns taken by wholesale from still-standing structures. In every large monument a lime-kiln was established until it was consumed. Says Cardinal Santori, of the great Sixtus V.: "Seeing that the Pope was quite bent on the destruction of the antiquities of Rome many Roman noblemen came to beg me to try to persuade his Holiness to abandon his strange purpose, particularly as he cherished the intention of destroying the Septizonium (of Septimius Severus), the Velabrum (arch of Janus) and the Capo di Bove (Caecilia Metella). I made this request in company with Cardinal Colonna and received the reply that he wished to remove the unsightly ruins." The most wholesale destruction took place in connection with the building of St. Peter, whose immense mass of masonry was taken almost entirely from the vitals of ancient Rome by order of the popes. Sometimes an architect received a completely free hand. The same pope, Sixtus, authorized his favorite architect Fontana to excavate, seize, and remove from any place columns, marbles, travertine, and other material. The papal example would naturally be followed by lesser ecclesiastical authorities and by the papal "nephews." Of the infamous annals of these two centuries we shall get the details in Lanciani's *Scavi di Roma*. By a broad application of his title the author includes also the destruction of the monuments of early Christian and medieval Rome. The irreligiousness and disregard of all sacred traditions of the Roman church of the Renaissance is completely illustrated by its destruction of the old basilica of St. Peter, with all its art-treasures, the centre of the Christian world. And after that as an example the architects of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries did not hesitate to transform the early churches into specimens of that most hideous of styles the world has ever seen—the barocco—and to make them brutal, tawdry, vulgar instead of delicate, symmetrical, and artistic.

It seems regrettable that so few illustrations accompany the text and that these are so inferior in quality; hardly a book issued in recent years has had such poor half-tones. Of course it would be possible to criticize also some parts of the text, not so much for its minor inaccuracies as for omissions which prevent its covering the ground of literary sources as well as it does that of archaeological investigation, in which the author is more at home. However, we know of no one who, on the whole, could have done the work better, if as well.

A. L. FROTHINGHAM, JR.

Italy and Her Invaders. By THOMAS HODGKIN. Vols. VII. and VIII. The Frankish Invasions and the Frankish Empire. (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1899. Pp. xx, 397; xii, 331.)

THESE two volumes form the conclusion of Dr. Hodgkin's great work, begun nearly twenty-five years ago, in which he has undertaken to present in a semi-popular form the history of a very obscure and difficult period. Taking Italy as the material and dramatic centre of his narrative he has given in these eight substantial and elegant volumes a review of

her fortunes from the first incursion of the German barbarians at the close of the fourth century to the establishment of the Frankish Empire at the beginning of the ninth. It was a stupendous undertaking, too large for any one man working under the demands of modern scholarship to hope to complete in that spirit of thoroughness we have learned to expect in a work of this scope. Dr. Hodgkin was in some ways conspicuously well fitted, in others equally ill-fitted for his task. He was a capable classical scholar, able to read without difficulty the text of his original authorities, on which his story must rest. He grasped from the outset the principle that contemporary witness is, on the whole, the most trustworthy and that every historian must go back again to that if he will build his foundations broad and sure. He has realized that a great part of the original material for his period was valuable only as it should be sifted by a comprehensive and intelligent criticism. He has shown us that he is not indifferent to the work of others in the same field. All these are praiseworthy traits in the historian. On the other hand Dr. Hodgkin has shown singular defects in the practical application of this respect for sources and this appreciation of modern co-workers to his printed results.

We are ready to believe that he knows German well ; but he gives surprisingly little indication of it. He may be familiar with the modern literature of his subject, but his references to it are throughout meagre and far from satisfactory. He has been possessed by a demon of style, that seems to have grown more and more exacting as his work has advanced. He has been haunted by his conception of a *magnum opus* as a thing to which the grand manner is indispensable. A curiously ineffective dramatic sense, of which the title of the book and the headings of chapters are illustrations, has continually distorted the proportions of his narrative and vitiated his conclusions. An absolutely amiable spirit, a really modest judgment of himself and an undoubted willingness to accept the views of other persons have not added strength to his presentation.

These two concluding volumes exhibit all the characteristic merits and defects of their predecessors, but they emphasize unduly the defects, because here, much more than in former volumes, Dr. Hodgkin is brought into inevitable comparison with other workers in the same field. Visigothic, Ostrogothic, Lombard Italy are comparatively unfamiliar ground, but everything touching upon Frankish matters has been worked over again and again in the generation just passed. Whoever would write, with any serious claim to the attention of scholars, upon this theme must first have assured himself that no noteworthy production of recent scholarship has escaped his notice.

We realize fully that a great scholar who has completely mastered his subject may well choose to conceal the machinery by which he has amassed his learning and formed his conclusions. He is fully within his right in so doing. But Dr. Hodgkin obviously has no such purpose. On the contrary he at times almost parades his authorities. He refers, quite in the antique fashion, to "the learned" this or "the learned but obscure"

that; he is occasionally servile in his blind acceptance of leadership, as in the case of Bryce; he is frank to the extreme in his acknowledgment of pages of detail. Where he has consulted books he lets us know it, and we are therefore fairly warranted in the conclusion that where he does not inform us he has not done so. His method is here, as it always has been, to divide his work up pretty minutely into chapters, furnishing each with some heading, of which "The Great Renunciation," meaning the retirement into a monastery of Carloman, brother of Pippin, "The Final Recognition," that is the sham acknowledgment of Charlemagne's *imperium* by a desperate Byzantine usurper, and "Carolus Mortuus" meaning the death of Charles, are specimens. Then for each chapter he selects one or more "sources," giving a very brief opinion as to their value, and this source or sources he follows as closely as may be. He adds also, in each case, one or more modern writers whom he calls "guides" and whom he seems to follow with almost equal fidelity. It is not difficult to see that Waitz and Dahn are the twin stars whose guidance he accepts whenever he can without much question, and a very good guide one at least of them is as far as he goes. That may also be said for the faithful workers who have produced the series of *Jahrbücher der Deutschen Geschichte*, but it is a little surprising that in a work of this importance so many chapters should be written without other "guide" than one of this series published from forty to twenty years ago. For the chapter on the Court of Charlemagne the guides are an essay by F. Lorenz printed in Raumer's *Taschenbuch* in 1832 and a chapter in Guizot's *Civilization in France!* The dating of books referred to is, by the way, a matter of no importance to Dr. Hodgkin. Having thus mapped out his chapter he proceeds to treat it as an act in the drama he is writing, and he tries above all things to make it interesting by constantly emphasizing the dramatic points and by a liberal use of picturesque language.

In accordance with his previous usage Dr. Hodgkin gives quite as much, if not more attention to the Invaders than to the land invaded. This leads him to devote much space to the tolerably familiar story of the rise to power of the Carolingian family. He has nothing new to tell and his personal contributions are more than usually unfortunate. To describe Clovis as a "scoundrel" is as foolish as are most of our author's applications of modern ideas to the past. If we could follow the political philosophy on pp. 20 and 21 we might suppose the movement of national life to be as simple as the rule of three: a king gets tired of work and prime ministers rise to power! Because Tirol was under Bavaria in the eighth century, we must have a special foot-note on p. 63 to tell us that therefore there was good precedent for the annexation of Tirol to Bavaria by Napoleon! Perhaps after all the Merovingian line may not quite have disappeared, for "among the fishwives who dragged Louis XVI.," etc., "there may have been some men and women who might have claimed descent from Dagobert and Chlotchar" (p. 130). What can be meant by this (p. 52)? "How little most students of modern history grasp the fact that the standard of the Crescent once floated within

a hundred miles of Lake Geneva?" We had supposed this to be one of the most elementary facts of European history.

If this be thought petty criticism, let us notice more important matters. A marriage alliance between Charles the Great and the Empress Irene would certainly have been worthy of all Dr. Hodgkin's eloquence. He cites but one authority and that a Byzantine one for even the possibility of such a plan. Yet he treats it as if it had been one of Charles's most cherished ambitions, speaks of "the lady of his choice," almost finds it strange that Charles did not set out to avenge his honor and ascribes the failure of the negotiations to the accidents of a Byzantine revolution. In fact such a possibility is contradicted by every act of Charlemagne, whose chief claim to greatness is that he kept himself strictly within the limits of the attainable and never sought to extend his effective sovereignty beyond the peoples of Germanic stock.

The same futility marks Dr. Hodgkin's treatment of the beginners of the medieval Empire. He is hypnotized, as most English writers since Bryce have been, by the notion that this new institution must be treated as the continuation of the ancient empire and must, by fair means or foul, be constitutionally explained as such. A very brief study of Mr. Herbert Fisher's recent book would have given at least some food for reflection on this point. The unwary reader might easily gain the impression that the use of the word *Basileus* by a feeble Byzantine usurper who was "trembling on his uneasy throne" was the quite sufficient constitutional warrant of the *imperium* of Charlemagne (pp. 252-253). Doubtless Charles welcomed this as he did every other form of recognition, but that he had any theoretical scruples whatever on the matter is wholly disproved by every act of his imperial period. The one substantial result of the negotiations between the two courts was the rectification of boundaries whereby Charles with great wisdom let go a large territory east of the Adriatic, thus emphasizing the distinctively Germanic character of his empire.

Of social, economic and constitutional developments we have hardly a word except in the short concluding chapter. For the selections from the Capitularies and the Lombard Laws here given we are grateful, but Dr. Hodgkin's moralizing comments upon them are not instructive. In parting with this all too voluminous work may we not express the hope that some person with a less unruly imagination and a more chastened style, leaving out all the decorations and adding some adequate references to recent literature, may be allowed to condense these eight volumes into two at the most? We should thus gain what is most valuable, the general plan and the relation of the parts to each other, without wading through the mass of "literature" which now obscures them.